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THE KEYNOTER

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL ITEMS COLLECTORS



Running for President: an essay by **Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.**

The Enduring Image of Theodore Roosevelt

"The Man That Was Shot"



547) The Most Desirable 1928 Hoover/Curtis Campaign Pin - The "Statue of Liberty" Jugate

The Crisis is Here! In an unusual instance of a campaign keepsake attempting to incite the public's fear, as opposed to providing calming reassurance, Herbert Hoover provoked the electorate with this dire slogan in 1928. At the first look, such tactics would have seemed unnecessary. The transition of presidential power appeared to be taking place in an almost orderly fashion. Respected incumbent Calvin Coolidge had stated in 1927 that he did not wish to seek reelection. Hoover secured the Republican Party's presidential nomination on the convention's first ballot, and Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas became the vice presidential nominee. The Democrats countered with a ticket headed by New York Governor Alfred E. Smith. A well-regarded businessman, humanitarian and public servant, Hoover planned to mount a campaign of dignity and decorum. His substantial accomplishments, which ranged from ministering to victims of the Mississippi floods to overhauling the Department of Commerce as its Secretary, spoke volumes. Campaign biographies would enhance his image by depicting Hoover as the small-town boy who had succeeded through hard work and upright behavior. A dash of flavorful rhetoric would complete the package. "The slogan of progress is changing from the full dinner pail to the full garage," he declared in one of his speeches while emphasizing the prosperity that would blossom during a Hoover administration. Sound campaign strategy, certainly, but failing to account for one, important variable: his opponent. Al Smith was a colorful candidate by any measure, and a true iconoclast in his time. As the first Roman Catholic to achieve nomination by a major party, Smith carried the weight of what was then, realistically speaking, a serious political handicap. And, as a man of the city, he became a champion for all of the newly arrived ethnic groups that were beginning to clamor in earnest for their stake in America's bounty. These circumstances made it all too easy for opponents to hang the whispered epithet, "un-American," on Smith's intentions. (One organization of "nativist elements" distributed literature depicting New York's Lincoln Tunnel, characterizing it as, "the Pope's direct conduit to the White House"). Always the charismatic urbanite, Smith wasn't bashful in taking the offensive. He waged a loud and vigorous campaign of his own. In wartime, the best defense is to harm one's enemy, and so it goes in election campaigns. Smith's efforts to showcase his own patriotism deliberately sought to create doubt about that quality's intensity in Hoover. This campaign sub-plot naturally escalated, and frequent exchanges of increasingly prideful nationalistic boasts took place between the two men as Election Day approached. One extraordinary salvo in this "war," launched toward Smith by the Hoover forces, is seen in the incredibly rare jugate pinback here offered. Barely a single millimeter of this extremely fresh memento's surface has gone unexploited. The button's red-white-and-blue colors proclaim its intentions across a crowded room. Closer examination reveals the sight of Hoover and Curtis, the solid and honorable gentlemen who intended to preserve our way of life. (Didn't they wish to maintain Prohibition while Smith, he of less-than-pure background, would repeal the virtuous nation's moral decision?) The Statue of Liberty stands at the 1-1/4"-diameter pin's top center, while flags and bunting lance outward at her sides. These adornments also flutter down the pin's face to gracefully drape the candidates. The anthem lyrics, "*My Country 'Tis of Thee*," spring upward from Lady Liberty to rest comfortably and prominently at the button's top edge. Still a bit more room in the design, once these elements were skillfully juxtaposed? The anonymous artist thought so, and placed the, "*Crisis*," legend in a red field at the bottom. The finishing touches are seen in, "*100%*," in a sliver of white at center (these men were, really, *all* American) and the American eagle perched on Liberty's pedestal. In sum, a point most emphatically made. Here is one of the most rare and desirable celluloids on earth, and this specimen is easily among the best of the few examples known to exist. The item exhibits bright, clean and crisp graphics and colors, and stands as an aesthetic marvel in every respect. Its centering is high by just a small fraction, and its condition is indisputable Near Mint to Mint. Hoover won the electoral votes of 40 states in claiming his eventual victory. Ironically, he was humble in his acceptance, and he may have been faintly embarrassed, personally, by the type of reverent portrayal seen on this amazing memorabilia piece. In December, 1928, he is quoted as saying, "My friends have made the American people think me a sort of superman. They expect the impossible of me, and should there arise in the land conditions with which the political machinery is unable to cope I will be the one to suffer." Subsequent events were not kind to the nation's 31st President, but, during the 1928 campaign, he was granted incomparable stature and the full breadth of American glory in this splendid relic. A beautiful and important piece!



Item shown actual size.

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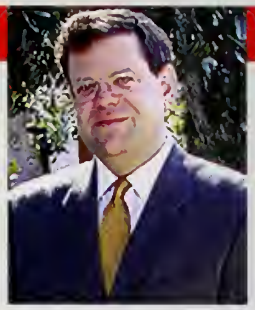
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FROM THE APIC PRESIDENT.



Dear fellow APIC members,

I take great pride in celebrating a milestone event for our hobby- the first full color *Keynoter*. From its humble beginnings over forty years ago through today's color version, *The Keynoter* has served as a foundation of our understanding of history and collecting. We can now share, enjoy and study the items we all appreciate and cherish the way they are meant to be seen - in vibrant full color. As APIC members, we are not merely collectors; we are historians and educators. Although we have individual tastes and collecting interests, we are bonded together by our duty of ensuring the complex political history of our nation is studied, analyzed and preserved. In keeping with our unified mission, we must simply have no less than an expanded and full color journal.

You'll also note *The Keynoter* has taken another step forward by including institutional advertising. Please patronize our sponsors as much as you can, for their assistance is the primary reason we are able to produce this issue and subsequent ones. Also, the fact that they have advertised with us not only shows they believe in our efforts, but also that we are a top ranked hobby deserving of such an improved publication.

Reaching this milestone has been a labor of love and dedication for many people, but I would like to especially thank our Editor, Michael Kelly, our Publisher, Jordan Wright and our Historian, Al Salter. Michael has tirelessly served as *The Keynoter* editor for the past 12 years, and is a true hero of our organization. For this first color issue, he spent countless hours editing, coordinating and making sure we had the best articles, best illustrations and best overall content. Jordan has been an APIC member since childhood and took on bringing color to an expanded *Keynoter* as a personal mission; I am thankful we were able to meet and share this goal together, as it was also mine. Al's extensive background in advertising was an invaluable resource he gladly shared, and his contributions to the development of our new *Keynoter* were irreplaceable.

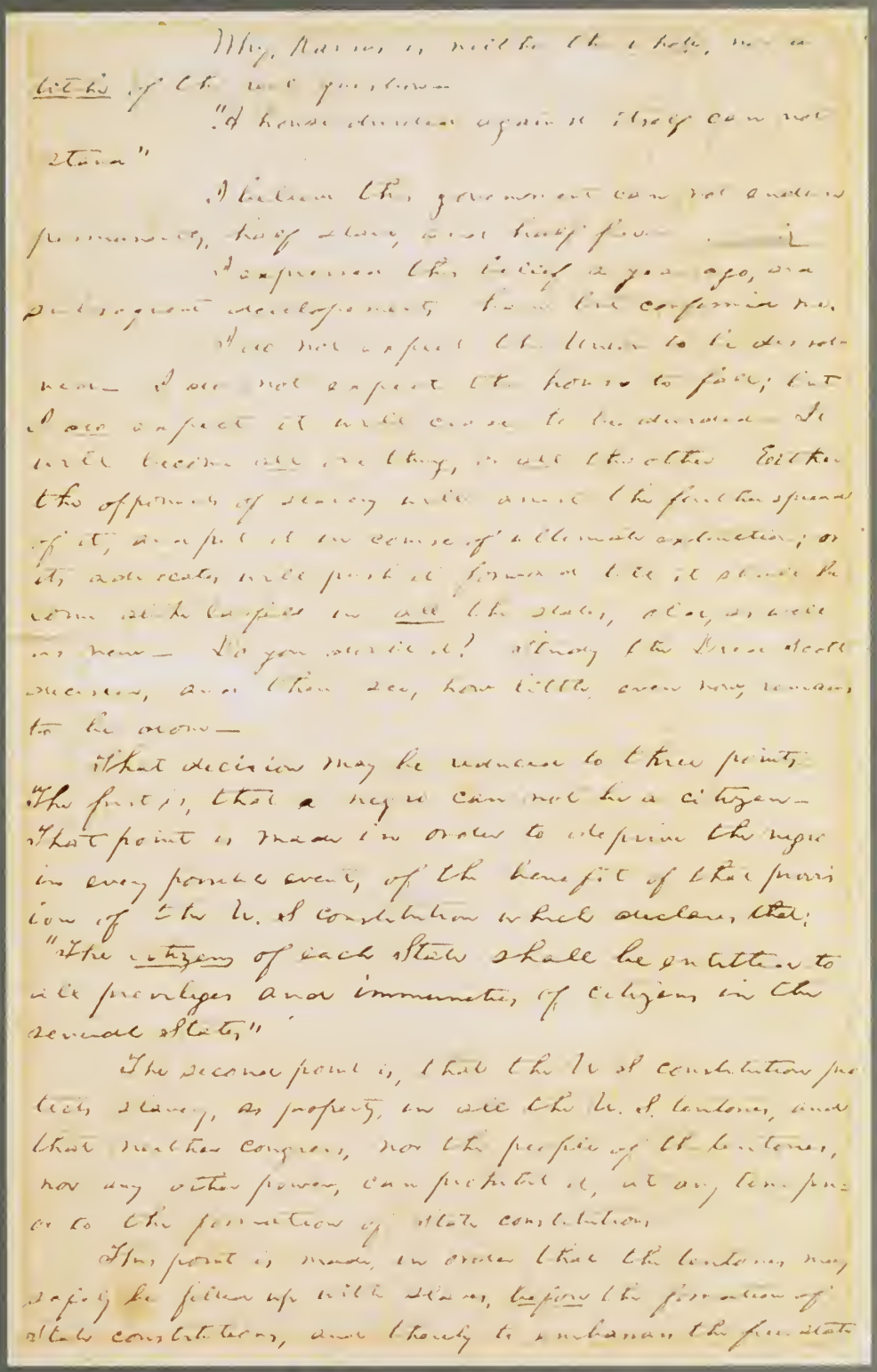
A special thank you is extended to Professor Arthur Schlesinger, advisor to President John F. Kennedy and Pulitzer Prize winner, for graciously contributing his essay on the history of American politics for our first colorized issue.



Yours in Progress,

Brian E. Krapf
President

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Why, Ruins is with the whole, in a little of the near future—

"A house divided against itself cannot stand"

I believe this government can not endure permanently, half slave, and half free. It

I expressed this belief a year ago, in a prolonged discussion; but I did not anticipate a speedy

I do not expect the Union to be dissolved— I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old, as well as new— North as well as South. Have we any reason to believe that the former will soon arrest the further spread of it? Almost all the history of the world, recent as well as ancient, and all the signs of the times, point to the latter. Look at the history of the Dred Scott decision, and then see, how little, even now, remains to be done—

What decision may be reached to three points. The first is, that a negro can not be a citizen— That point is made in order to deprive the negro in every possible event, of the benefit of that provision of the U. S. Constitution which declares that "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

The second point is, that the U. S. constitution protects slavery, as property, in all the U. S. territories, and that neither Congress, nor the people of the territories, nor any other power, can prohibit it, at any time prior to the formation of State constitutions.

The third point is made, in order that the territories may safely be filled up with slaves, before the formation of State constitutions, and thereby to embarrass the free states

Abraham Lincoln "A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF CANNOT STAND."
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EDITOR'S MESSAGE



As of this issue, the APIC Keynoter reaches a new level with the addition of color and advertising. Hats off to Brian Krapf and the APIC Board of Directors for putting in the hours of labor and attention to detail to make this happen in an affordable, quality way. The APIC leadership does listen to the membership.

We also want to thank Dr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. for his essay on running for president. A Pulitzer Prize winner and one of the nation's most significant historians, Dr. Scheslinger's essay helps show the role of Political Americana in the Republic's history.

I also need to acknowledge the people who built this publication over the years. The Keynoter first appeared in 1962 in the hands of Chick Harris. After Chick came Roger Fischer and Robert Fratkin. Fratkin has remained an active force to this day. I assumed the editorship in 1992. But it is you, the reader, who will make the most important judgment about The Keynoter. Your comments are welcome. My email is mkelly@mcc.edu.

CORRECTION —In the Winter 2003 issue, in a page 16 article about the 1928 vice presidential candidates, a button was pictured in the upper left corner and identified as being for Joe Robinson. The button bears a picture and the word "Robinson." We regret to report that the button is NOT from 1928 Democratic VP nominee Joe Robinson but rather from 1926 Indiana senatorial candidate Arthur R. Robinson. This button has frequently been misidentified and The Keynoter is sorry to have repeated that error. Thanks to Larry Brokofsky (APIC #3563) for bringing that to our attention.

Michael Kelly
Editor



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ILLUSTRATIONS— The editor wishes to thanks the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Al Anderson, Steve Baxley, Ray Braverman, Germaine Broussard, Allan Dorsey, Robert Fratkin, Tom French, David and Janice Frent, Bruce Gimelson Americana (www.gimelson.com), Adam Gottlieb, Ted Hake, Brian Krapf, Alex Miller, Tom Peeling, Ron Puechner, Phil Ross, Jordan Wright and Al Salter.

NEXT ISSUE — One of our most colorful and controversial presidential hopefuls – and a major publisher to boot – William Randolph Hearst will be featured along with other articles and illustrations on American political history.

SUBMISSIONS — *This is your publication. Please feel free to share your ideas, suggestions, illustrations and stories. The Keynoter is delighted to share pictures of interesting political Americana with its readers. When submitting an illustration, send it as an .eps, .jpg or .pdf file to mkelly@mcc.edu. Illustrations should be in color and submitted in digital format with at least 300 dpi resolution (preferably higher). Files must be created at 100% of actual size or larger (smaller risks loosing clarity). Digital electronic images should be saved to a minimum of 300dpi as TIF, GIF, JPEG or EPS files, preferably in Adobe Photoshop.*

If you don't have access to a scanner or high-resolution digital camera, you can take your items to graphic service bureaus, such as Kinko's, and have them scanned in the specification mentioned above. You can then send the file by e-mail, on a CD or on a zip disk.

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Al Anderson



David Lindeman

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Editor,

I write to congratulate you and your excellent staff of writers on the recent issue of The Keynoter on the Election of 1928. It brought back great memories of my college days. In the spring of 1971 while working on my undergraduate degree I had selected as my Senior Thesis this important election. I had completed nearly 77 pages of research and writing when the building that housed our college library (where I worked) and my paper was lost in a fire. I was then given the opportunity to take a 4-hour oral exam over my research. Needless to say, I had to know 1928 as if I had lived though the campaign (having been born in 1949, it proved to be a challenge). That is the best thing about The Keynoter: it makes collectors know more than what a button is worth, but the rich history of our nation's political history. Please keep up the good work.

Carl T. Wirth (APIC#2100)

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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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All correspondence about content should be addressed to:
Editor
Michael Kelly
1901 Montclair Avenue
Flint, MI 48503
[Email: mkelly@mcc.edu]

All correspondence about advertising should be addressed to:
Publisher
Jordan Wright
468 West Broadway
New York NY 10012
[Email: jordan@ashlee.com]

Art Director
Bülent Bingöl

Production Director
Jennifer Hintze

All correspondence about mailing and copies should be addressed to:
Member Services
Rick Moses
7604 Dew Wood Drive
Derwood, MD 20855
[Email: Rick.moses@amres.com]
Website: http://apic.us/

Associate Editor
Robert Fratkin

Editorial Board
Robert Fratkin
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Running for President

America suffers from a sort of intermittent fever- what one may call a quintan ague. Every fourth year there comes terrible shakings, passing into the hot fit of the presidential election: then follows what physicians call "The interval"; then again the fit.

By Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR., the author of sixteen books, is a renowned historian and social critic. He has twice won the Pulitzer Prize, in 1946 for The Age of Jackson and in 1966 for A Thousand Days. He is also the winner of the National Book Award for both A Thousand Days and Robert Kennedy and His Times. In 1998 he was awarded the prestigious National Humanities Medal. He lives in New York City.



Running for president is the central rite in the American political order. It was not always so. Choosing the chief magistrate had been the point of the quadrennial election from the beginning, but it took a long while for candidates to run for the highest office in the land; that is, to solicit, visibly and actively, the support of the voters. This magazine shows through text and illustration how those aspiring to the White House have moved on from ascetic self-restraint to shameless self merchandising. This work thereby illuminates the changing ways the American people have conceived the role of their President. I hope it will also recall to new generations some of the more picturesque and endearing dimensions of America politics.

The primary force behind the revolution in campaign attitudes and techniques was a development unforeseen by the men who framed the Constitution-the rise of the party systems. Party competition was not at all their original intent. Quite the contrary: inspired at one or two removes by Lord Bolingbroke's British tract of half a century earlier, *The Idea of a Patriot King*, the Founding Fathers envisaged a Patriot President, standing above party and faction, representing the whole people, offering the nation non-partisan leadership virtuously dedicated to the common good.

The Ideal of the Patriot President was endangered, the Founding Fathers believed, by twin menaces - factionalism and factionalism's ugly offspring, the demagogue. Party competition would only encourage unscrupulous men to appeal to popular passion and prejudice. Alexander Hamilton in the 71st *Federalist* bemoaned the plight of the people, "beset as they continually are… by the snares of the ambitious, the avaricious, the desperate, by the artifices of men who possess their confidence more than they deserve it, and of those who seek to possess rather than to deserve it."

Pervading the *Federalist* was a theme sounded explicitly both in the first paper and the last: the fear that unleashing popular passions would bring on "the military despotism of a victorious demagogue." If the "mischiefs of faction" were, James Madison admitted in the tenth *Federalist*, "sown in the nature of man," the object of politics was to repress this insidious disposition, not to yield to it. "If I could not go to heaven but with a party," said Thomas Jefferson, "I would not go there at all."

So the Father of his country in his Farewell Address solemnly warned his countrymen against "the baneful

effects of the spirit of party." That spirit, Washington conceded, was "inseparable from our nature"; but for popular governments it was "truly their worst enemy." The "alternate domination of one faction over another," Washington said, would lead in the end to "formal and permanent despotism." The spirit of party, "a fire not to be quenched… demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume."

Yet, even as Washington called on Americans to "discourage and restrain" the spirit of party, parties were beginning to crystallize around him. The eruption of partnership in defiance of such august counsel argued that party competition might well serve functional necessities in the democratic republic.







The first two items feature George Washington, who was unopposed when he ran for President. The third features Andrew Jackson, who drew fierce opposition all three times he ran for President.

After all, honest disagreement over policy and principle called for candid debate. And parties, it appeared, had vital roles to play in the consummation of the Constitution. The distribution of powers among three equal branches inclined the national government toward a chronic condition of stalemate. Parties offered the means of overcoming the constitutional separation of powers by coordinating the executive and legislative branches and furnishing the connective tissue essential to effective government. As national associations, moreover, parties were a force against provincialism and separatism. As instruments of compromise, they encouraged, within the parties as well as between them, the containment and mediation of national quarrels, at least until slavery broke the parties up. Henry D. Thoreau cared little enough of politics, but he saw the point: "Politics is, as it were, the gizzard of society, full of grit and gravel, and the two political parties are its two opposite halves, which grind on each other."

Furthermore, as the illustrations in these pages so gloriously remind us, party competition was a great source of entertainment and fun-all the more important in those faraway days before the advent of baseball and football, of movies and radio and television. "To take a hand in the regulation of society and to discuss it," Alexis de Tocqueville observed when he visited Americas in the 1830s, "is his biggest concern and, so to speak, the only pleasure an American knows.... Even the women frequently attend public meetings and listen to political harangues as a recreation from their household labors. Debating club are, to a certain extent, a substitute for theatrical entertainments."

Condemned by the Founding Fathers, unknown to the Constitution, parties nonetheless imperiously forced themselves into political life. But the party system rose from the bottom up. For half a century, the first half-dozen Presidents continued to hold themselves above party. The disappearance of the Federalist party after the War of 1812 suspended party competition. James Monroe, with no opponent at all in the election of 1820, presided proudly over the Era of Good Feelings, so called because there were no parties around to excite ill feelings. Monroe's successor, John Quincy Adams, despised electioneering and inveighed against the "fashion of peddling for popularity by travelling around the country gathering crowds together, hawking for public dinners, and spouting empty speeches." Men of the old republic believed presi-

dential candidates should be men who already deserved the people's confidence rather then those seeking to win it. Character and virtue, not charisma and ambition, should be the grounds for choosing a President.

Adams was the last of the old school. Andrew Jackson, by beating him in the 1828 election, legitimized party politics and opened a new political era. The rationale of the new school was provided by Jackson's counsellor and successor, Martin Van Buren, the classic philosopher of the role of party in the American democracy. By the time Van Buren took his own oath of office in 1837, parties were entrenched as the instruments of America self-government. In Van Buren's words, party battles "rouse the sluggish to exertion, give increased energy to the most active intellect, excite a salutary vigilance over our public functionaries, and prevent that apathy which has proved the ruin of Republics."

Apathy may indeed have proved the ruin of republics, but rousing the sluggish to exertion proved, ironically, the ruin of Van Buren. The architect of the party system became the first casualty of the razzle-dazzle campaigning the system quickly generated. The Whigs' Tippecanoe-and-Tyler-too campaign of 1840 transmuted the democratic Van Buren into a glided aristocrat and assured his defeat at the polls. The "peddling for popularity" John Quincy Adams had deplored now became standard for party campaigners.

But the new methods were still forbidden to the presidential candidates themselves. The feeling lingered from earlier days that stumping the country in search of votes was demagoguery beneath the dignity of the presidency. Van Buren's code permitted-indeed expected-parties to inscribe their creed in platforms and candidates to declare their principles in letters published in newspaper. Occasionally candidates-William Henry Harrison in 1840, Winfield Scott in 1852-made a speech, but party surrogates did most of the hard work.

As late as 1858, Van Buren, advising his son John, one of the great popular orators of the time, on the best way to make it to the White House, emphasized the "rule…that the people will never make a man President who is so importunate as to show by his life and conversation that he not only has an eye on, but is in active pursuit of the office…No man who has laid himself out for it, and was unwise enough to let the people into his secret, ever yet obtained it". Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Scott, and a host of lesser lights, should serve as a guidepost to future aspirants.



Martin VanBuren (left) built the Democratic Party organization but the partisan spirit he encouraged turned on him when he was defeated for re-election by William Henry Harrison's "log cabin and hard cider" campaign (center). By the time Lincoln ran in 1860 (right), political parties were accepted.

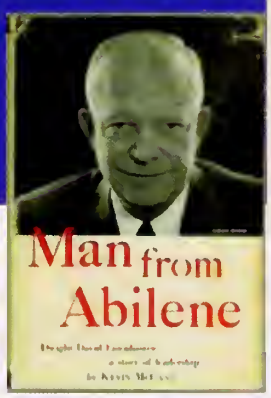
The continuing constraint on personal campaigning by candidates was reinforced by the desire of party managers to present their nominees as all things to all men. In 1835 Nicholas Biddle, the wealthy Philadelphian who had been Jackson's mortal opponent in the famous Bank War, advised the Whigs not to let General Harrison "say one single word about his principles or his creed… Let him say nothing, promise nothing. Let no committee, no convention, no town meeting ever extract from him a single word about what he thinks now, or what he will do hereafter. Let the use of pen and ink be wholly forbidden as if he were a mad poet in Bedlam."

We cherish the memory of the famous debates in 1858 between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A, Douglas. But those debates were not part of a presidential election. When the presidency was at stake two years later, Lincoln

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gave no campaign speeches on the issues darkly dividing the country. He even expressed doubt about party platforms-"the formal written platform system," as he called it. The candidate's character and record, Lincoln thought, should constitute his platform: "On just such platforms all our earlier and better Presidents were elected."

However, Douglas, Lincoln's leading opponent in 1860, foreshadowed the future when he broke the sound barrier and dared venture forth on thinly disguised campaign tours. Yet Douglas established no immediate precedent. Indeed, half a dozen years later Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson, discredited presidential stumping by his "swing around the circle" in the midterm election of 1866. "His performances in a western tour in advocacy of his own election," commented Benjamin F. Butler, who later led the fight in Congress for Johnson's impeachment "...disgusted everybody." The tenth article of impeachment charged Johnson with bringing "the high office of the President of the United States into contempt, ridicule, and disgrace" by delivering "with a loud voice certain intemperate, inflammatory, and scandalous harangues...peculiarly indecent and unbecoming in the Chief Magistrate of the United States."

Though presidential candidates Horatio Seymour in 1868, Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876, and James A. Garfield in 1880 made occasional speeches, only Horace Greeley in 1872, James G.Blaine in 1884, and most spectacularly, William Jennings Bryan in 1896 followed Douglas's audacious example of stumping the country. Such tactics continued to provoke disapproval. Bryan, said John Hay, who had been Lincoln's private secretary and was soon to become McKinley's secretary of state, " is begging for the presidency as a tramp might beg for a pie."

Respectable opinion still preferred the "front porch" campaign; employed by Garfield, by Benjamin Harrison in 1888, and most notably by McKinley in 1896. Here candidates received and addressed numerous delegations at their own homes-a form, as the historian Gil Troy writes, of "stumping in place."

While candidates generally continued to stand on their dignity, popular campaigning in presidential elections flourished in these years, attaining new heights of participation (82 percent of eligible voters in 1876 and never once from 1860 to 1900 under 70 percent) and new wonders of pyrotechnics and ballyhoo. Parties mobilized the electorate as never before, an political iconography was never more ingenious and fantastic. "Politics, considered not as the science of government, but as the art of winning elections and securing office," write the keen British observer James Bryce, "has reached in the United States a development surpassing in elaborateness that of England or France as much as the methods of those countries surpass the methods of Servia or Roumania." Bryce marveled at the "military discipline" of the parties, at "the demonstrations, the parades and receptions, the badges and brass bands and triumphal arches," at the excitement stirred by elections and at "the disproportion that strikes a European between the merits of the presidential candidate and the blazing enthusiasm which he evokes."

Still the old taboo held back the presidential candidates themselves. Even so irrepressible a campaigner as President Theodore Roosevelt felt obliged to hold his tongue when he ran for reelection in 1904. This unwonted abstinence reminded him, he wrote in considerable



In 1872, this handsome Horace Greely and Gratz Brown badge boosted the short-lived Liberal Republican Party. In 1900, Republicans and Democrats boosted their favorites with these buttons.

frustration, of the July day in 1898 when he was "lying still under shell fire" during the Spanish-American War. "I have continually wished that I could be on the stump myself."

No such constraint inhibited TR, however, when he ran again for the presidency in 1912. Meanwhile, and for the first time, both candidates in 1908-Bryan again, and William Howard Taft-actively campaigned for the prize. The duties of the office, on top of the new requirements of campaigning, led Woodrow Wilson to reflect that same year, four years before he himself ran for President, "Men of ordinary physique and discretion cannot be Presidents and live, if the strain be not somehow relieved. We shall be obliged always to be picking our chief magistrates from among wise and prudent athletes, a small class."

Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson combined to legitimize a new conception of presidential candidates as active molders of public opinion in active pursuit of the highest office. Once in the White House, Wilson revived the custom, abandoned by Jefferson, of delivering annual state of the union addresses to Congress in person. In 1916 he became the first incumbent President to stump for his own reelection.

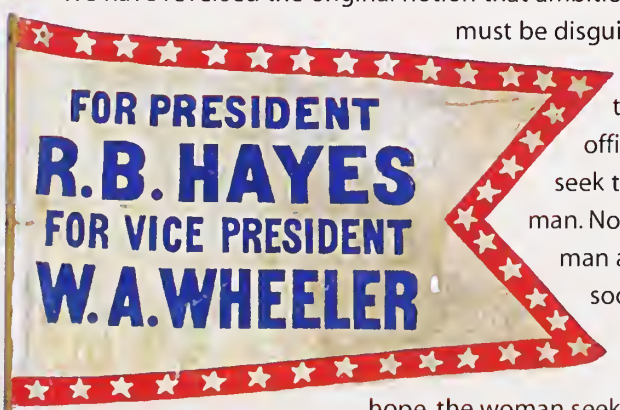
The activist candidate and the bully-pulpit presidency were expressions of the growing democratization of politics. New forms of communication were reconfiguring presidential campaigns. In the nineteenth century the press, far more fiercely partisan then than today, had been the main carrier of political information. In the twentieth century the spread of advertising techniques and the rise of the electronic media, radio, television, computerized public opinion polling, wrought drastic changes in the methodology of politics. In particular the electronic age diminished and now threatens to dissolve the historic role of the party.

The old system had three tiers: the politician at one end: the voter at the other: and the party in between. The party's function was to negotiate between the politician and the voters, interpreting each to the other and providing the link that held the political process together. The electronic revolution has substantially abolished the sovereignty of the party. Where once the voter turned to the local party leader to find out whom to support, now he looks at television and makes up his own mind. Where once the politician turned to the local party leader to find out what people are thinking, he now takes a computerized poll.

The electronic era has created a new breed of professional consultants, "handlers," who by the 1980s had taken control of campaigns away from the politicians. The traditional pageantry-rallies, torchlight processions, volunteers, leaflets, billboards, bumper stickers-is now largely a thing of the past. Television replaces the party as the means of mobilizing the voter. And as the party is left to wither on the vine, the presidential candidate becomes more pivotal than ever. We shall see the rise of personalist movements, founded not on historic organizations but on compelling personalities, private fortunes, and popular frustrations. Without the stabilizing influence of parties, American politics would grow angrier, wilder, and more irresponsible.

Things have changed considerably from the austerities of the old republic. Where once voters preferred to call presumably reluctant candidates to the duties of the supreme magistracy and rejected pursuit of the office as evidence of dangerous ambition, now they expect candidates to come to them, explain their views and plead for their support. Where nonpartisan virtue had been the essence, now candidates must prove to voters that they have the requisite "fire in the belly" "Twud be inth'restin," said Mr. Dooley,"...if th' fathers iv th' counthry cud come back an' see what has happened while they've been away. In times past whin ye voted f'r prisident we didn't vote f'r a man. Ye voted f'r a kind iv a statue that ye'd put up in ye'er own mind on a marble pidistal. Ye nivir heerd iv George Wash'nton goin' around th' counthry distributin' five cint see-gars."

We have reversed the original notion that ambition must be disguised and the office seek the man. Now the man and soon, one must hope, the woman seeks the office and does so without guilt or shame or inhibition. This is not necessarily a degradation of democracy. Dropping the disguise is a gain for candor, and personal avowals of convictions and policies may elevate and







educate electorate.

On the other hand, the electronic era has dismally reduced both the intellectual content of campaigns and the attention span of audiences. In the nineteenth century political speeches lasted for a couple of hours and dealt with issues in systematic and exhaustive fashion. Voters drove wagons for miles to hear Webster and Clay, Bryan and Teddy Roosevelt, and felt cheated if the famous orator did not give them their money's worth. Then radio came along and cut political addresses down first to an hour, soon to thirty minutes-still enough time to develop substantive arguments.

But television has shrunk the political talk first to fifteen minutes, now to the sound bite and the thirty-second spot. Advertising agencies today sell candidates with all the cynical contrivance they previously devoted to selling detergents and mouthwash. The result is the debasement of American politics. "The idea that you can merchandise candidates for high office like breakfast cereal," Adlai Stevenson said in 1952, "is the ultimate indignity to the democratic process."

Still Bryce's "intermittent fever" will be upon us every fourth year. We will continue to watch wise if not always prudent athletes in their sprint for the White House, enjoy the quadrennial spectacle and agonize about the outcome. "The strife of the election," said Lincoln after his reelection in 1864, "is but human nature practically applied to the facts. What has occurred in this case, must ever recur in similar cases. Human nature will not change."

Lincoln, as usual, was right. Despite the transformation in political methods there remains a basic continuity in political emotions. "For a long while before the appointed has come," Tocqueville wrote more than a century and a half ago, "the election becomes the important and, so to speak, the the all-engrossing topic of discussion. Factional ardor is redoubled, and all the artificial passions which imagination can create in a happy and peaceful land are agitated and brought to light…

"As the election draws near, the activity of intrigue and the agitation of the populace increase; the citizens are divided into hostile camps, each of which assumes the name of its favorite candidate; the whole nation glows with feverish excitement; the election is the daily theme of the press, the subject of every private conversation, the end of every thought and every action, the sole interest of the present.

"It is true," Tocqueville added, "that as soon as the choice is determined, this ardor is dispelled, calm returns, and the river, which had nearly broken its banks, sinks to its usual level; but who can refrain from astonishment that such a storm should have arisen?"

The election storm in the end blows fresh and clean. With the tragic exception of 1860, the American people have invariably accepted the result and given the victor their hopes and blessings. For all its flaws and follies, democracy abides.

Let us now turn the pages and watch the gaudy parade of American presidential politics pass by in all its careless glory.

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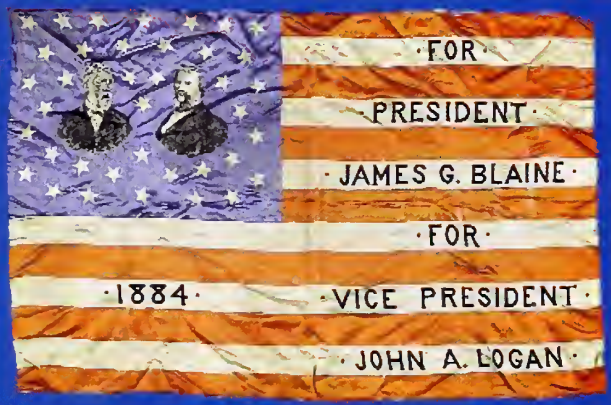














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The Enduring Image of

Theodore Roosevelt

By Michael Kelly

Michael Kelly (APIC # 395) earned his BA from the University of Notre Dame and his MA from Wayne State University. He serves on the staff of Mott Community College. Among his political activities, he has served as a delegate to the Republican National Convention and as a presidential elector in the Electoral College. He has published over 500 articles on history and economics, and has served as editor of The Keynoter since 1992.

In the midst of a presidential election year when it often seems as if most of the country is obsessed with the Presidency, it is hard to realize how forgettable American presidents can be. How many high school seniors could identify Chester Arthur? How many folks at the mall would recognize Zachary Taylor? Yet there are a handful of American Presidents who endure in the public consciousness beyond their own era, reaching the status of cultural icons.

George Washington is universally known, as is Abraham Lincoln, both of whom served during times of national crisis. Yet Theodore Roosevelt is nearly as recognizable while his Presidency, although filled with activity, was not marked by national crisis. So powerful is his image that the Smithsonian Portrait Gallery describes him as an "icon of the Twentieth Century." The public recognition of TR comes from the force of his personality and a set of symbols intimately associated with him. It is rare for a politician to become associated with a symbol. It happens on occasion -- the most recent being Bill Clinton's saxophone, which often appeared on campaign items – but TR did not have just one symbol, he had a half dozen.

Snapping teeth below a bristling moustache, "pince-nez" eyeglasses and a floppy "Rough Rider" hat created an image that was easily recognized even when portrayed in the most abstract manner. Aided by scores of photographers, cartoonists, and portrait artists, his features became symbols of national recognition; mail addressed only with drawings of teeth and spectacles was delivered to the White House.

Roosevelt is the most recent President to be carved into the side of Mount Rushmore yet his inclusion with Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln did not draw serious objection. Even in this digital age, his presence is felt throughout American culture. The U.S.S. Theodore Roosevelt, a Nimitz-class aircraft carrier, projects American military power around the globe. Richard Nixon quoted his predecessor when choosing "In The Arena," as the title of his autobiography. Pundits still urge occupants of the White House to use their "bully pulpit." In advertising, Maxwell House coffee quotes Teddy Roosevelt when it boasts that it is "good to the last drop" and the fashion industry still uses "Alice Blue," a color favored by his oldest daughter.

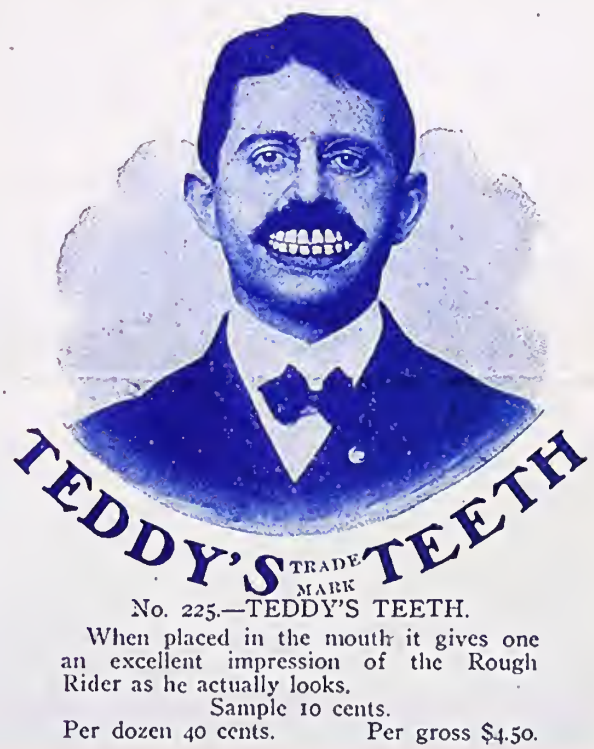


Then there is the teddy bear. These stuffed animals have become so common that "teddy" isn't even capitalized any more.

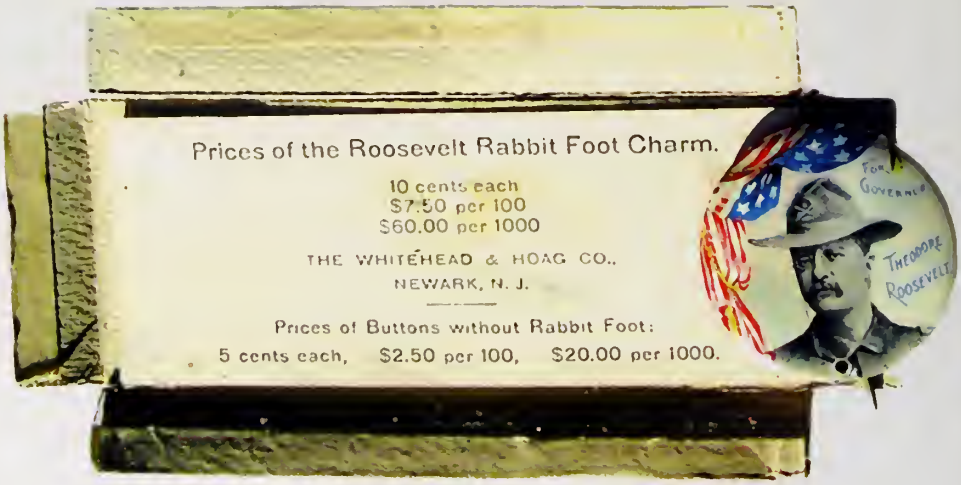
A Roosevelt hunting trip to Mississippi inspired teddy bears. After a wearying trek through the woods on a fruitless hunt for bears, the President's chagrined hosts finally managed to rustle up a tired old bear for him to shoot. He chose not to take the shot, which was seen as an example of sportsmanship. The story gained wide currency when political cartoonist Clifford Berryman published a cartoon ("Drawing the line in Mississippi") showing TR declining to shoot the bear. The cartoon was so popular that an enterprising toy manufacturer from Brooklyn named Morris Michtom began to make "Teddy Bears" for children. Popular children's books took up the image, with Seymour Eaton's series about the Roosevelt Bears, Teddy Brown and Teddy Grey, being the most successful. Almost a century later, teddy bears remain a mainstay among children's toys.

Of course, given the visual nature of American politics, those bears appeared on campaign items. Stickpins in the shape of bears (sometimes carrying rifles) appeared on lapels while clothing buttons were made picturing bears.

But bears weren't the only image to make an appear-



ance in the popular culture of campaign items. While teddy bears may still be common today, the first image of Theodore Roosevelt to catch the public imagination was that of the Rough Rider. Despite a busy political career before war broke out (including Republican leader in the New York State Assembly, police commissioner and mayoral candidate in New York City, and Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the first McKinley administration), it was the Spanish-American war that made him a national figure.



Throughout his life, the image of TR in his Rough Rider uniform remained a potent symbol, used by both friends and foes. To his admirers, the Rough Rider symbolized courage and skill. To his detractors, it represented reckless adventurism and imperialism.

One campaign button features a uniformed TR on the left side of a classic jugate design but on the right, rather than the photo of another candidate, are the words, "Remember San Juan Hill." The August 4, 1898 cover of *Life* magazine pictured TR on a bucking bronco, a blazing pistol in each hand, over the caption "Teddy the Terror." As late as the 1904 campaign, when he had already served as Governor of New York, Vice President and President, a campaign button was issued showing the Rough Rider with the American flag atop San Juan Hill.

The charge up San Juan Hill entered national myth. The portrait of TR with saber drawn, astride his charging steed, was found across the country on everything from prints and paperweights to textiles and trays. While his days in North Dakota left much of the cowboy in his public image, the broad-brimmed hat associated with Roosevelt was almost always shown as the hat of the Rough Rider of San Juan Hill.

The Rough Rider hat was easily recognized. It was a high-peaked, broad-brimmed hat (similar to those used by many state troopers), often with one side pinned up. In his 1898 campaign for Governor of New York, the vast majority of buttons portrayed Roosevelt wearing the hat, usually framed by an American flag.

The New York state election in 1898 hadn't been looking favorable for the GOP until the new war hero landed his troops on Long Island in preparation for their return to civilian life. Out to his tent in the field trooped politicians, hoping to gain an advantage from his new celebrity and TR was soon in a new battle as the Republican nominee for governor. Two years later, Governor Roosevelt became Vice President Roosevelt. Seven months after that, he was President of the United States.

Throughout his career, the hat remained a powerful symbol of TR. When he walked into the 1900 Republican National Convention, ostensibly discouraging calls for his nomination as McKinley's running mate,









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an observer noted that he was carrying a hat not unlike his Rough Rider hat. "That's an acceptance hat," the observer commented.

The hat was evident in the 1900 campaign, even as Roosevelt was supposed to be playing a supporting role to McKinley. One stickpin features "Mack and Teddy" on a Rough Rider hat. Throughout his career, badges appeared that simply showed his hat. No words were needed. In 1912, when he kicked off his attempt to recapture the White House with the words, "My hat is in the ring," numerous campaign buttons attest that everyone knew which hat he meant.

But the cumulative visual impact of Theodore Roosevelt went beyond the hat. Probably the most unusual objects to become a political symbol were his eyeglasses. They weren't even the regular sort of glasses that later symbolized Barry Goldwater. They were little "pince nez" glasses, tied to a ribbon that hung around his neck. The pince-nez spectacles, popular in the 19th century, are supported without earpieces, by pinching the bridge of the nose (the term is from the French for "pinch nose"). Such glasses didn't seem to fit with the man of military action. But they may have been the best symbol of the seeming contradictions that made this president so memorable.

The eyeglasses symbolized his other side. For Roosevelt was not just a man of action, he was also a fine scholar, a naturalist, an historian and an author. Roosevelt was not just a war hero, he was a war hero from Harvard, born of one of the nation's oldest families, gifted with a first rate intellect. Those little "pince-nez glasses encapsulated all that. In 1904, when the presidential nomination went to Roosevelt, the pince-nez were used at lapel pins featuring TR and running mate Charles Fairbanks.

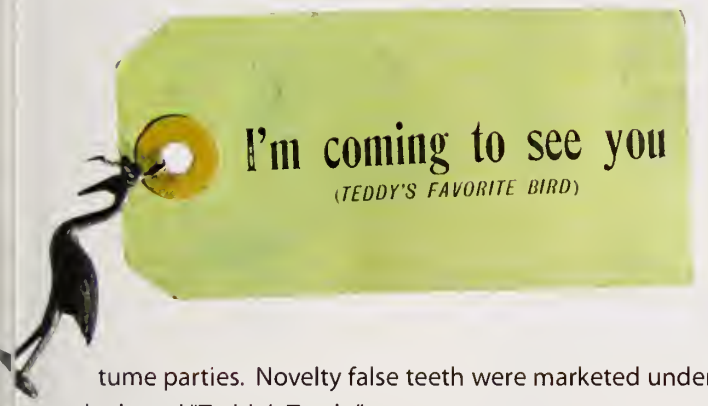


Just below his eyeglasses was a thick moustache above a broad smile filled with teeth. All an artist needed to portray Theodore Roosevelt was eyeglasses, moustache and teeth. An advertising button boosting the new-fangled electricity features TR's teeth with electric light bulbs in place of the glasses. The button's message was "Be-light-ed by Electricity."

One lapel pin shows teeth, moustache and glasses topped with a hat with no other features. Across the country, little rough riders began to show up at cos-







tume parties. Novelty false teeth were marketed under the brand "Teddy's Teeth."

It was during his Presidency that he introduced one of his last symbols, the Big Stick. He liked to quote an African proverb – "speak softly and carry a big stick" – to support a strong American military, especially a strong Navy. While it can't be said that TR was known for speaking softly, the big stick rapidly came to stand for an assertive America.

Political cartoonists enhanced the power of TR's symbols as they benefited from their instant recognition by readers and they were fond of picturing the colorful personality. When TR was entering public life, Thomas Nast was still a potent political force. Nast noted TR while his career was still new, including one famous engraving portraying New York State Assemblyman Theodore Roosevelt working for the public welfare with New York Governor Grover Cleveland. Political cartoonists from Thomas Nast and Joseph Keppler to C.G. Bush





and Rollin Kirby found TR a compelling subject. As he left the White House in 1909, cartoonists and political writers mourned what they thought would be his departure from the public stage.

But he was not to depart the public stage when he left for his African safari. It was on his return and his subsequent battle with his handpicked successor, President William Taft, which he created the last great symbol associated with Theodore Roosevelt: the Bullmoose.

"I feel fit as a bullmoose!" he boasted at the start of his 1912 campaign as the candidate of the Progressive Party. He had been denied the Republican nomination, despite being the clear popular choice, and took his case to the people with a new party. The Bullmoose appeared on buttons, badges, ribbons and signs. It symbolized the toughness and vigor of a man so vital that he could bolt the Republican Party and beat it hands down. Unfortunately, while Roosevelt easily outran Republican Taft, he was unable to outrun the Democrat Wilson, who won the White House with 42% of the vote.

These varied symbols – the Rough Rider's hat, the teeth and moustache, the "pince-nez" eyeglasses, the big stick and the bullmoose – reflect the very diversity of Theodore Roosevelt. Generations have come and gone since his era but he remains one of the best-loved and most recognizable presidents.





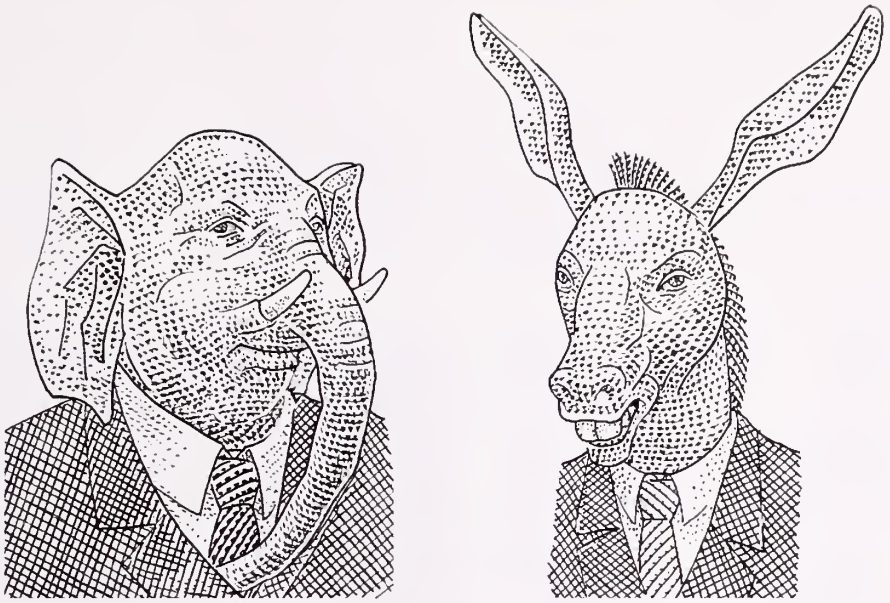












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"The Man that was Shot"

"I will make this speech or die."

-Theodore Roosevelt, October 14, 1912

By Michael Kelly

Lincoln, Garfield, McKinley and Kennedy: four presidents who have fallen before the assassin's bullet. Although Lincoln's story is well known, time has all but erased the memory of Garfield and McKinley from public awareness. As strange as it may seem to those of use who lived through it, it is likely that the powerful memory of the death of John F. Kennedy may also fade over time to become just an interesting footnote of interest to historians and collectors. After all, everyone under the age of 40 wasn't even born when JFK was killed.



Americans who watched the tumultuous 1912 campaign would certainly be surprised to learn that few of their countrymen in 2004 recall the shooting that took place in Milwaukee, Wisconsin on October 14, 1912. In the final weeks of the campaign, Theodore Roosevelt was barnstorming through the upper Midwest, a heartland of the

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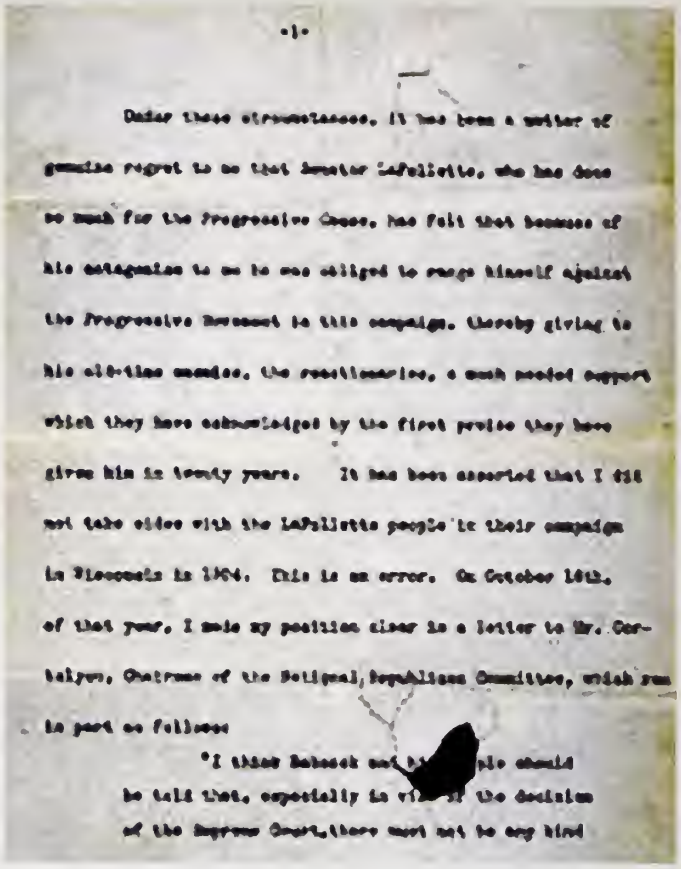
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Right: the first page of TR's Milwaukee speech showing where the bullet hit. Above: a 7/8" button referring to the shooting of TR.

Progressive cause. On that particular October day, TR was on his way to deliver a speech at the Milwaukee Auditorium when a deranged gunman, John Schrank (sometimes known as John Crank) fired a pistol into the candidate's chest at close range.

Schrank was motivated by dreams that Roosevelt had been responsible for the assassination of McKinley and believed that he must kill Roosevelt to prevent his winning a third term as president. Schrank had been stalking TR for thousands of miles before getting a clear shot at him in Milwaukee. After firing, the gunman was seized on the spot by the crowd.

The bullet hit Roosevelt in the chest but was partially deflected by a folded 50-page speech and a metal eyeglass case carried by TR in his coat pocket. The deflection – and TR's muscular chest – left the former president wounded and bleeding but still alive. With his usual courage and sense of the dramatic, he refused to go the hospital and proceeded to the auditorium to deliver his speech.

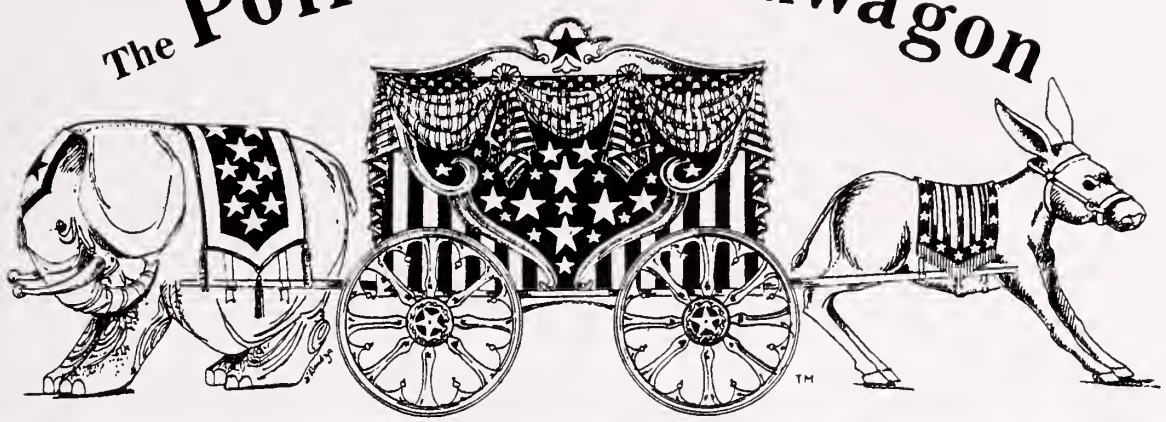
He addressed the large crowd in an unusually subdued voice. "Friends," he began, "I shall ask you to be as quiet as possible. I don't know whether you fully understand that I have just been shot." One can imagine the thrill that swept through the hall at those words. "But it takes more than that to kill a Bullmoose. But fortunately I had my manuscript, so you see I was going to make a long speech, and there is a bullet – there is where the bullet went through – and it probably saved me from it going into my heart." At this point, he held up the first page of his speech so that the bullet hole was in plain view. "The bullet is in me now, so that I cannot make a very long speech, but I will try my best."

The audience sat in silent fascination at the performance, one that could have been given only by Theodore Roosevelt. He spoke for 1 1/2 hours, waving off pleas that he seek medical care. Later, after the operation to remove the bullet, the surgeon stated, "It is largely due to the fact that he is a physical marvel. He is one of the most powerful men I have ever seen."

The drama came too late in the campaign for more that a few campaign items that relate directly to the shooting to have been produced but there are at least two. One is a simple 7/8" button that reads "Vote For the Man that was Shot." A second item is a watch fob featuring the Progressive Party bullmoose. Around the bullmoose are the words "Keep Alive the Progressive Spirit the Bullet Did Not Kill." Hanging below the bullmoose is a small bullet bearing the initials "T.R." Another illustration accompanying this article is a copy of a painting of the shooting by John Philip Falter.

The shooting in Milwaukee has largely been forgotten but in the closing days of the 1912 campaign, the news electrified the nation. Three weeks later, the Progressive Roosevelt ran far ahead of Republican Taft. But most of the Democratic baseline stayed loyal, allowing Woodrow Wilson to take first place and the Presidency with 42% of the vote.

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What is a *classic*?

By Al Salter

Al Salter (APIC #4736), retired business owner, newspaper columnist, and political activist, has been a member of APIC close to thirty years. He is presently researching and writing a book on the early careers of major party nominees for president and vice president, 1896 to the present. The book features memorabilia from the local and state campaigns of each nominee.

"Classic" is probably the most loosely applied word in the English language. Once it meant a work of art or an era. Now it is attached to a piece of pop music, an individual's demeanor, a woman's figure, movies, automobiles, a baseball player's stance or an actor's profile. We've come a long way, baby, from T.S. Eliot's belief that the true classic begins and ends with Virgil's *Aeneid*. Those of us collecting political artifacts find that "classic" is a word that appears frequently in mail auction catalogs for buttons that can be valued by the auctioneer anywhere from $40 to $40,000.

So what is a classic? The answer varies depending on who is using the word. For purposes of the Salter Minor Classics Index (SMCI), which tracks the auction history of sixty presidential buttons, classic means durability, having grown or maintained a presence among those who value its category. It also means handsomeness, believing no durable pin can be ugly and declared classic. It means scarcity, but not rarity. One or two or even a half dozen known examples cannot constitute classic standing. A classic has to be available.

Durability, graphically appealing, scarcity; these attributes together must generate desirability. When that happens, you have a classic.

Desirability is, of course, an intangible. Different people see the relationship of all these attributes in a given item differently. It may depend on the appeal of a particular candidate or a memorable slogan. Consequently what appears as a classic to some may not be to others. The concept of "minor classic" is the result of tracking buttons that averaged no less than $100 and no more than $1,000 in auctions during the three year base period (1997-1999). SMCI reflects use of the classic designation by most serious collectors interviewed during the time the base period was established for the index. "Minor" in no way affects the desirability of the item. A $100 SMCI may fit the classic definition, while a $1000 pinback no one ever sees for public sale, does not. Also, SMCI certainly does not include all minor classic items. There will always be some pins outside the loop, others that belong today that will not belong in years ahead, as well as others that will join the group in the future. The category is dynamic.

One serious APIC member, Ray Braverman (APIC #14458), head of the Social Sciences and History Department at Dover High School in Dover, Delaware, informs us that he has established SMCI presidential buttons as a specialty collector category. All but one of the pins shown here are from Ray's collection and we thank him for making his collection



1 McKinley/Hobart "Nat'l Wheelmen" 1 1/4"



2 - McKinley/ Roosevelt w/Raugh Rider 1 3/4"



3 - McKinley "Full Dinner Pail" 1 1/4"



4 - Wm Jennings Bryan "I Gave My Dallar" 1 1/4"



5 - Bryan "Cammaner" 1 1/4"



6 -TR "Raugh Rider" 1 1/4"



7 - TR "Stand Pat" 1 1/4"



8 - Porker/Dovis "Shur Mike" 1 1/4"



9 - Porker "White Elephont" 1 1/2"



10 - Taft "United" 7/8"



11 - Wilson "Man af the Haur" 1 3/4"



12 - Hughes "Claverleaf" 7/8"



13 - "Smiling Harding" 11/4"



14 - Cax "Prasreity" 3/4"



15 - Caalidge/ Dawes Club "Albony County" 7/8"



16 - Coolidge "Rock of Ages" 7/8"



17 - John W. Dovis 1 1/4"



18 - John W. Davis "Far President Club" 7/8"



19 - "Honest Doys With Dovis" 7/8"



20 - Hoover/Curtis "Far All U.S." 1 1/4"



21 - Smith /Robinson 7/8"



22 - Smith "Guiding Light" (red or blue star) 7/8"



23 - FDR/Curley "Ecanamic Security" 2 1/4"



24 - Landon "Sunflower Choin" 7/8"



25 - FDR 1933 "You Bet I'm With Yau" 2"



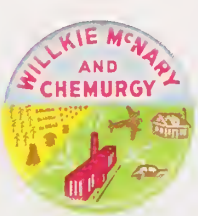
26 - FDR "We Will Protect Our Flag" 7/8"



27 - "Roosevelt" profile 1 3/4"



28 - "Joe & I Wont Willkie" 1 1/4"



29 - Willkie "Chemurgy" 1 1/4"



30 - Truman/Barkley Flag 1 1/4"



31 - Truman/Barkley Inaugural (Gald Eagle) 1 1/4"



32 - "Minnesata Truman Club" 2 1/4"



33 - Truman "Civil Rights" 2 1/4"



34 - Dewey "Yankee Daadle" 1"



35 - Ike "Time far a Change" 1 1/4"



36 - Stevensan "Dan't Let Them Take It Away" 2 1/4"



37 - Stevensan/ Humphrey "Will Sweep" 2 3/4"



38 - Stevensan "I'm Still Madly far Adlai" 2 1/4"



39 - "Adlai/Estes , The Bestest" 3"



40 - "Shaewarkers far Kennedy" 3 1/2"



41 - Nixan (1960) "Nat far Sale" 4"



42 - Jahnsan "Gaing Up With Lyndan" 2 1/2"



43 - Jahnsan (Anti-Galdwater) "In Yaur Guts Yau Knaw He's Nuts" 3 1/2"



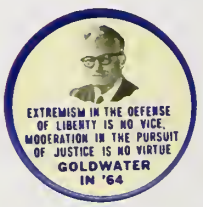
44 - Jahnsan (Anti-Galdwater) "What Me Warry?" 2 1/4"



45 - Galdwater (Anti-Jahnsan) "Raats" 3 1/2"



46 - Galdwater "Indiana's Favarite Family" 3"



47 - Galdwater "Extremism" 2 1/4"



48 - Nixan (1968) "Man af Steel" 3 1/2"



49 - "My Man Humphrey" 3 1/2"



50 - McGavern "Rabinhaad" 4"



51 - McGavern "Peter Max" 1 1/2"



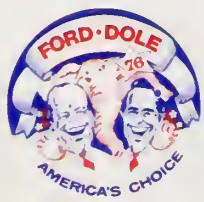
52 - McGavern King/Barbra/Taylar 3 1/2"



53 - McGavern "Skinny Cat" 2 1/4"



54 - McGavern "Superman"1 3/4"



55 - Fard/Dale Caricature 3"



56 - Fard "Trade in Yaur Fard" 2 1/2"



57 - Reagan "Made in Detrait" 1 3/4"



58 - "Steelwarkers Far Mandale/Ferrara" 3 1/2"



59 - Chelsea Clintan "Vate Far My Daddy 2 1/4"



60 - Clintan "Magic Jahnsan" 3 1/2"

available for this article. The other button ("In Your Heart You Know He's Nuts") was provided by Ron Puechner (APIC #8402)

An updated price report on the Salter Minor Classic Index appears each quarter in *The Political Bandwagon*.

The Salter Minor Classics Index.

The sixty minor classic presidential campaign buttons are grouped in chronological order for convenience and to pinpoint the different political issues and events that influenced their designs, slogans, and overall desirability.

1896 -1916

This was the golden age of celluloid buttons that featured colorful and imaginative graphics. It also was a time of great historical significance, including War with Spain, World War I, the progressive era, a rise in populism, assassination of a president, and the emergence of political giants. The attitudes of the public toward war, the economy, and class struggle, are all found in the design and slogans of these pins. The "dinner pail" theme, the "Rough Rider" identification, the use of the "White Elephant" by Parker, trading on a late 19th century image immortalized by PT Barnum, and the transition from TR to Taft, all depict issues and concerns of that time. The rise of Woodrow Wilson was the final stamp on the period.

1920 -1944

These years include isolationism, the Great Depression and World War II. The "Honest Days with Davis" pin is a reminder of the corruption found in the Harding administration. The Al Smith "Guiding Light" button was produced in two versions; one with a blue star and one with a red star. Another Smith variation is #21, the Smith/Robinson 7/8" jugate, which was produced with a gold background and a white background The FDR pins bridge the failed economy and the patriotism that united the country in WW II. The "Joe and I Want Willkie" button expresses the opposition raised to FDR's third term candidacy. There are a number of versions of the same theme. It is especially significant that this button features Joe Louis, the popular black heavyweight-boxing champion of that time. FDR had formed a strong coalition of southern whites, laborers, farmers, and urban blacks to expand the Democratic Party base. Support for Willkie by the most famous black in the country, was considered a coup for the Republicans.

1948 -1960

During this period television became a potent political weapon. The first TV president, Dwight Eisenhower, issued a button reading "Time for a Change" to remind voters that Democrats had occupied the White House for twenty years, the longest executive rule in the twentieth century. Adlai Stevenson, the first losing Democrat to be nominated more than once since William Jennings Bryan, and Thomas Dewey, nominated twice by Republicans, produced a number of buttons with classic images. The slogan "I Like Ike" (the most repeated political slogan of the period) was featured on so many campaign items that their appeal as desirable collectibles is diminished. On the other hand, Harry Truman was not expected to be elected in 1948. Consequently, a limited variety of material was produced for him, increasing its subsequent desirability. The assassination of John F. Kennedy has continues to make his 1960 campaign material sought after by a public who came to know the young president primarily through television.

1980 -1996

It's difficult to identify a "classic" that has no age to it. It's like tasting wine before it's in the bottle. But there have been presidential buttons in the recent past that have elicited a surprising and lasting interest. The Reagan/Bush "Made in Detroit" headlights jugate is a unique design with its reference to automobile city Detroit and the implication that the Reagan/Bush ticket supports labor. The story of Hillary Clinton withdrawing the "Vote for My Daddy" Chelsea Clinton button from circulation in order to protect her daughter from overexposure, creates a basis for desirability even greater than the clever graphics.

For the Newer Collector

What is a Jugate?

By Michael Kelly



Every field has its jargon and Political Americana is no different. One of the basic terms in collecting the buttons, badges, posters and other material created by political campaigning is that of a "jugate" [pronounced: "joo-gate"].

A jugate is an item that carries pictures of two people, most usually the nominees for President and Vice President. There are other jugates, of course. Sometimes the presidential candidate is pictured with another candidate further down the ticket, such as a governor, senator or congressman. Sometimes jugates appear with just local candidates, such as the party nominees for governor and senator. Other jugates exist showing presidential candidates with their spouse (like 1952's "Ike and Mamie") or historical figures (like the 2004 button picturing Bush with Teddy Roosevelt). Elsewhere is this issue you will find jugate buttons with Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Josef pictured with his German ally, Kaiser Wilhelm.

In the field of political Americana, jugates are considered to be among the best items, as they encapsulate the campaign. One whole specialty consists of collecting a jugate from each major party ticket in each election (usually in the 7/8" or 1 1/4" size). Some especially prized jugates feature candidates both of whom became President (such as a Garfield/Arthur jugate from 1880 or a Roosevelt/Truman jugate from 1944). The "Holy Grail" of the hobby is the 1920 Cox/Roosevelt jugate, featuring Ohio Gov. James Cox with a young Franklin Delano Roosevelt as his running mate. It was the sale of such a Cox/Roosevelt jugate in 1981 for the previously unheard of sum of $33,000 that brought wide attention to the field. Since then, many items have sold for far more but jugates – especially Cox/Roosevelt jugates -- remain prized.

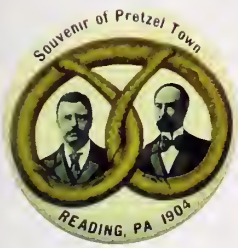
Sometimes buttons have more than two pictures. There are trigates (three people), quadrigates (four) and multigates (even more). One of my favorite items in my own collection is a button from the 1916 Republican presidential primary in Massachusetts. That year, Bay State Republicans had three contenders for the Presidency; Governor Samuel McCall and both the state's senators, Henry Cabot Lodge and John Weeks. The party organization wanted to avoid an internal battle and was urging support for a unity slate of delegates. A 7/8"

































button was issued picturing Lodge, McCall and Weeks plus party leader Murray Crane under the legend "Unpledged Delegates."

Jugates appear in every campaign and can be easily found for more recent campaigns. There are no shortage of Bush/Cheney and Gore/Lieberman jugate buttons to be found for just a few dollars. There are plenty of Reagan/Bush, Bush/Quayle, Clinton/Gore and other jugates around at a low cost and even jugates from the Fifties and Sixties are easy to find. It is a great way for new collectors to start building a collection of these splendid remnants of our political history.

Collecting History

Woodrow Wilson and Commencement 1917

By Robert Fratkin

Robert Fratkin (APIC #793), a past president of the APIC (1978-1983), is a frequent contributor and former editor of The Keynoter. His collecting interests include presidential campaigns 1896-1964 and individuals and moments in American history; Lindbergh, Hearst, LaGuardia, Coughlin, CCC, WWI, WWII, Desert Storm, etc. His long interest in British history also has led him to collect Boer War, Queen Victoria, King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra items.

I admit it. I am always looking for pieces for my collection that I haven't seen before.

After 40 years of collecting, I am still amazed by the pieces that show up that I haven't seen. One of these appeared in the Tom French auction at the APIC National Convention last August in Orlando. Tom had a number of exciting pieces in the auction and one button in particular caught my eye. It was a 1 1/4 " picture pin for Woodrow Wilson with a striking stars and stripes motif and "Commencement 1917" at the bottom.

After I bought it, I was surprised when Charlie Hunter came up to me and reported he also had the button. His version had red, white and blue ribbons attached that read, "Rockport, Spencer County, Graduate." More than that, he had bought it in a frame with other items from the same event, a high school graduation in Rockport, Indiana. He had a graduation certificate for one of the class members and a picture of the graduating class.



This confirmed my suspicion that the piece wasn't from an event the President had spoken before, but was a "spec" piece put out by Whitehead and Hoag for whoever wished to purchase it—in this case, a high school in Indiana.

This was early in America's entry into World War One, and anything patriotic sold well. Button manufacturers put out a large number of items using Wilson's image to capitalize on the patriotic fervor of the population, many of them "on speculation" that buyers could be turned up by the many traveling salesmen the companies employed around the country. These people were known as commercial travelers (or drummers, for short—salesmen who "drummed up" business). This apparently was one of those buttons, and was offered and probably sold in several communities for the 1917 graduation ceremonies.

The Rockport graduating class picture shows 24 honorees in their caps and gowns, but only 7 males. This suggests that either a lot of young men dropped out of school to go to work on the farm or, what is more likely, that some of the graduating class had quit to join the military—a common occurrence in the early days of the American participation in the War.



Before America entered WWI, some very handsome items were produced boosting the alliance between Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm (with the dark moustache) and Austria's Emperor Franz-Josef (with large white sideburns). Once America went to war with Germany and Austria, such items disappeared. The items with four pictures included German allies Bulgaria and Turkey.

We sometimes forget now that before America's entry into the First World War, the American people were divided between those who favored the Allied position and those who favored the Central Powers. Although the President tried to steer a neutral course, the country was not isolationist in its feelings, and the button companies put out merchandise for both sides. Particularly popular were items that pictured both Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany and Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria-Hungary. Illustrated here are a few of the pieces put out for the German/Austrian communities before April 2,1917. After that date, a general anti-Germanic hysteria swept the country, with German language town names and street names being changed to other local names. Near where I grew up in Southern California, the little town of Nordhoff became Ojai, which it has remained to this day. Dachshunds were renamed Liberty dogs, sauerkraut became Freedom cabbage, and almost everything else German was renamed. Recently, we have seen the same feelings exhibited in our short lived renaming of Freedom fries and other products that used the word "French."



1900: Pro-Expansion & Anti-Expansion Buttons

By Steve Baxley

Steve Baxley (APIC # 4044) received his BA degree in journalism and history from San Diego State University in 1977. He is a writer/editor at a scientific/ engineering research lab in San Diego, California. Believing that an interesting story lies behind each political item, Steve feels that finding that story can sometimes be just as exciting as finding the item itself.

Two of the most intriguing buttons from the 1900 campaign (though produced in 1899) are the multi-color pro-expansion and anti-expansion McKinley and Bryan celluloids. These 1 1/4" buttons are something of an enigma because few of us know Latin anymore. But at the turn of the century, educated people were familiar with classical languages. What exactly do these Latin phrases mean?

On the Bryan button are the following phrases and their meaning:

Ubi Libertas, Ibi Patria - Where there is liberty, there is my country

Salus Populi Suprema Est Lex - The welfare of the people is the supreme law

Mihi Cura Futuri - My care is for the future

E Pluribus Unum - One Out of Many

Ne Plus Ultra - Stay put; go no further; turn back

On the McKinley button are the following phrases and their meaning:



Maud Ignara Mali - Prefer not ignorance

Miseris Succurrere Disco - Learn to help the unfortunate

Da Dextram Misero - Offer a right hand to the miserable

Humani Nihil Alienum - Nothing that relates to man is alien

Fiat Justitia, Ruat Caelum - Let justice be made, though the heavens fall

Let's look at the importance of each statement.

"Where there is liberty, there is my country." One of the Democratic Party's main campaign slogans in 1900 was The Constitution shall follow the Flag. Bryan's understanding of the American Revolution was that America was to be a country opposed to the colonial system. If America was to expand across the world, it was to bring the blessings of liberty to other people, not to exploit its resources for its own empire.

"The welfare of the people is the supreme law." Law should be used only for the good of the people. Anti-expansion is not only for the good of the people in foreign lands, but for the people of the United States as well. The welfare of both will be served by an anti-expansion policy.

"My care is for the future." Bryan's concern was not only for the future of the countries that had been liberated from Spanish rule, but also for America herself. Could a country forsaking democratic ideals for colonial expansion remain

free? Another 1900 slogan that reflected this idea was Republic, Not Empire. Bryan feared that colonial expansion would destroy American democracy.

"One Out of Many." America was unique among all nations on earth. She was chosen by God as an example to the world that democracy is the best system of government on earth.

"Stay Put; Go No Further; Go Back." In the ancient world, it is said that the Latin phrase, Ne Plus Ultra was inscribed on the Pillars of Hercules (Strait of Gibraltar) as a warning to ships. Placed on a marker at the end of the then known world, this statement warned the seafarer to go no further, or better yet, to turn back. Bryan's view of expansion held this as an apt warning for those who would exchange the Constitution for the British colonial system. To travel further on the sea of expansion, America would venture into uncharted waters; His warning is to go back to the democratic system before the nation is shipwrecked.

The classical imagery on the button is also interesting. Bryan's portrait is flanked by two American flags. Above him are two goddesses, perhaps the goddess of Liberty and the goddess of Virtue. Note that Bryan does not yet wear the Roman crown of victory, but perhaps it is the goddess of Virtue who will crown him with the authority to rule because of his virtuous stand for democratic ideals.

"Prefer not ignorance, learn to help the unfortunate." To avoid accusations that expansion was simply a grasp for power, McKinley's expansionist policies had to be presented as the powerful helping the weak rather than



exploiting their misfortune. Those who know the condition of those in need and have the power to help will learn to help them more if they know about the condition of the unfortunate.

"Offer a right hand to the miserable." The right hand is usually a symbol of power and authority. As America learns of the miserable condition of those who had been crushed under the powerful hand of Spain, America will lend a strong right arm to help those less fortunate than themselves.

"Nothing that relates to man is alien." We are all familiar with the human condition because all of us are part of humanity. We must not look upon those suffering in other countries as aliens, but as brothers and sisters, because we are all part of the human race.

"Let justice be made, though the heavens fall." Justice is worth our sacrifice. We must establish justice wherever we see injustice, no matter what the consequences may be.

The classical imagery on the button is similar to the Bryan button, but not exactly the same. McKinley is in the seat of authority, his chair on an elaborate carpet. The world is in his lap, the Atlantic and Pacific on each knee. The goddess of Justice and probably Mercy are with him. With the power and authority to act, he shows mercy on the suffering and establishes justice where injustice once ruled.





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Congratulation on the colorful *Keynoter.* Thanks to Wright Publishing LLC & member Jordan Wright for his tireless work on this project.

Jim Gifford
VP Region 3 APIC

Congratulations to the APIC for Accomplishing an Important Milestone for the *Keynoter*

Best Regards,

Chris Hearn, Past President

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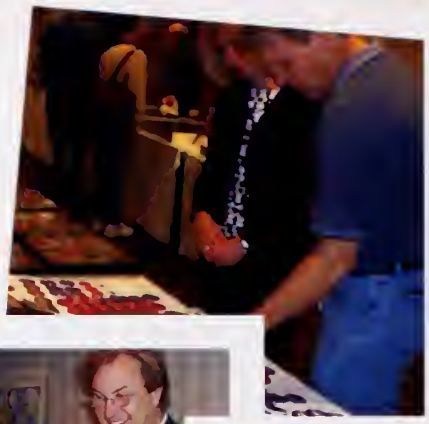
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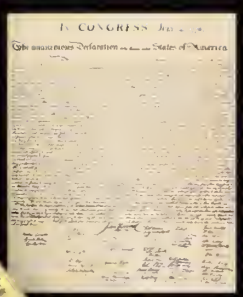








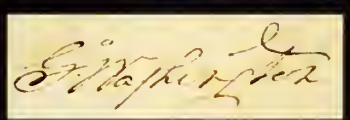




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